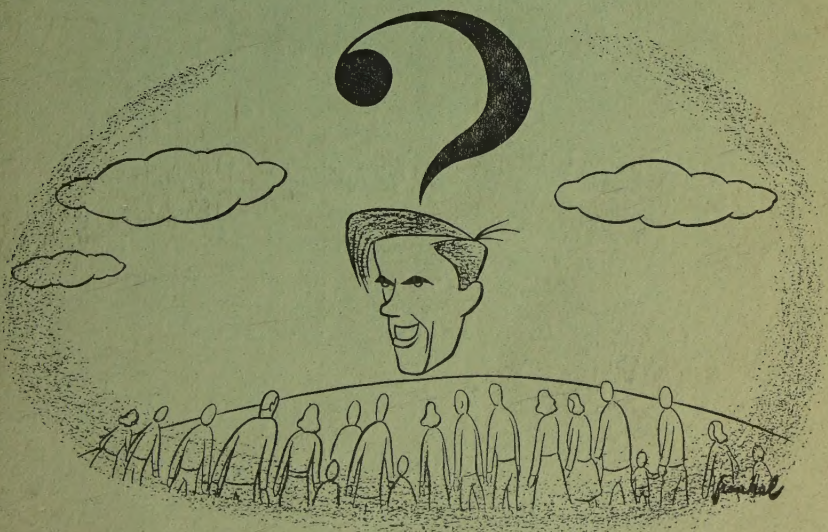


Fellowship

• • *March 1948* •

Vol. XIV—No. 3 •

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Should Pacifists Vote for Wallace ?

Yes, says James Peck

No, says Dwight Macdonald

The Meaning of Gandhi, by John Haynes Holmes

I Beseech You, by Alan Balding

London Letter, by Vera Brittain

THIS MONTH

THE debate on Henry Wallace and his third party is narrowed down for the pacifists. Jim Peck, who argues the case for Wallace, is an ex-prison CO, former labor columnist for the *Conscientious Objector*, now doing publicity and editorial work for the Workers Defense League, which is *not* supporting Wallace. Dwight Macdonald, on the other side, broke out of the *Fortune* corner of the Lucefold to edit his own magazine *politics*. He is author of *Henry Wallace: the Man and the Myth*, published February 19 by Vanguard. . . . John Haynes Holmes, well known to all FELLOWSHIP readers, had just returned from India when the tragic news of Gandhi's assassination was flashed to the world. He writes *The Meaning of Gandhi*, a tribute to the Mahatma. . . . Alan Balding, author of this month's meditation, is chairman of the British FOR. . . . His compatriot, Vera Brittain, sends another *London Letter*.

NEXT MONTH

WHAT the relation is between *Co-operatives and Peace* is explored by E. R. Bowen, recently retired general secretary of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. . . . E. S. P. Rawstron examines the plight of the prophet in *The Outcasts* . . . Ammon Hennacy has *In the Orchard* for the month's meditation . . . Milton Mayer brings another chance to see behind the mirror . . . and Horace Alexander sends from India an evaluation of Gandhi.

FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

People

We had to postpone a dinner date with a lady the other day because she had been invited to tea at Andrei Gromyko's, to meet some of the other Russian delegates to the UN. We gave up the dinner gladly in the interests of international reconciliation, but it started us thinking about Mr. Gromyko and the Russians.

From all we hear, they're nice folks. Mr. Gromyko entertains quite a bit, and he and our own Mr. Austin, when they are not growling at each other officially, frequently may be seen laughing together, unofficially, quite heartily.

It's probably a good thing to keep in mind. The inveterate newspaper reader gets to thinking of Mr. Gromyko and his colleagues as a lot of depersonalized, belligerent ruffians, seeking innocent little countries whom they may devour. Ac-



tually, it would seem that they're human beings with whom it is quite possible to carry on a pleasant and intelligent conversation, and who probably have many of the same characteristics we find in other human beings. It might even be assumed that those other millions of Russians who don't get over to New York are also human, tending to be fooled by propaganda, frightened by the apparent belligerence of a distant nation, scared to death of the chances of another war, and capable of reacting warmly and generously to any overtures of warm and generous friendship. It's worth thinking about, anyway.

Formula

Another applicant for membership in the peace movement turns out to be Alois S. Knapp, America's leading nudist. Mr. Knapp says nudism, if practiced widely enough, is a sure-fire way to end wars, according to the *Chicago Sun*. "Take the clothes away from soldiers and they won't know whom to shoot," says he. We think Mr. Knapp has a double-barrelled idea here. Remembering the total effect of 1,500 involuntary nudists at an Army induction center four years ago, we suspect the soldiers would die laughing, anyway.

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And think how some of the higher brass would look!

Semantics As She Is Spoke

"We called our 'slackers' by the less opprobrious name of 'conscientious objectors' and instead of sending them to Leavenworth, as during World War I, we almost coddled them. . . . Something akin to the thinking that causes belief in virtual word magic is seen in



some of the circumlocutions in which we frequently engage. When, for instance, we say . . . conscientious objector instead of slacker. . . . All over the nation academic freedom is being threatened. . . . In all this language plays a great part. Label pinning is a great American game at present."

—from "Language and Human Welfare," by Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall (Northwestern University), in *Progressive Education*.

Enjoying the game, Professor?

Gobbledegook

"If we fought Russia, the best we could hope to achieve is a moral victory, and that would be small comfort to the remnants of our people, crawling amid the burnt-out foundations and charred chimneys of a ruined nation.

"So we must not, we cannot, talk about waging war with Russia. Even if we wiped out Russia, we would be wiped out in the process. War itself is defeat. We must talk about waging peace. We must wage peace with air power, with all the machines and money and men that we used to fight Germany and Japan. We

must be stronger than any other nation in the world, because I am convinced that we are one of the few nations in the world today that genuinely, devoutly and unselfishly want peace."

—General H. H. Arnold, in *This Week*, January 11, 1948.

Focus

The report last month of the Atomic Energy Commission revealed that research on a "vast" scale is being focused on "urgent objectives," these being the development of new and more potent weapons. Along with this important work, some research was done for "civilian good" as well, apparently on the assumption that there will still be some civilians.

Free Air

The military branches of the government now have five major network radio shows, plus two National Guard programs. As a result, says *Variety*, the military is now "radio's No. 1 music sponsor," with programs estimated at a total cost of \$6,000,000 a year. The actual cost is less than this, however, since both network and local stations give the time free.

Item

The Foreign Policy Association points out that the research program of the Air Force on the single item of guided missiles already exceeds in cost the research programs of all the bureaus of the Agriculture Department, which is the largest single nonmilitary research agency in the government.



The Meaning of Gandhi

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

A MEASURE of Gandhi's greatness may be found in the fact of his irreplaceability. Not among all the four hundred millions of people in India is there a man to serve as his successor. Run the round of the whole world, and you will seek in vain a single personality to match with the Mahatma. Search the ages, and where can his like be found? "The greatest Indian since Gautama Buddha," says the correspondent of *The New York Times*. The greatest man since Jesus, is my fixed judgment. And now he is gone,

"and leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

Another measure of Gandhi is the range and power of his influence. History has no parallel to his leadership in his own lifetime of vast multitudes of men to high and noble ends. Others have gathered about them bands of loyal disciples, or headed widespread movements of reform among the people. But Gandhi commanded the allegiance of an entire nation. He saturated with his spirit a whole people. Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, men of all religions, races, and castes, waited upon his word, and sought to follow his example. Conquerors have led hordes of armed men to ravage and plunder, but the influence of these warriors, appealing to the lowest lusts of the flesh, has been insignificant as compared with the influence of Gandhi, appealing to the loftiest ideals of the soul.

Another measure of Gandhi's greatness is the love for him in far-flung human hearts. I can remember

when Gandhi was a good deal of a joke—he was so "queer"! Then we began to develop a strange reverence for this man, who was seen to be a saint in the purity and humility of his life. Then, gradually and almost unconsciously, we began to love him, so that, when he was dead, we were overwhelmed with a sense of personal loss. Millions followed his body to the funeral pyre—making the burning on the sacred shores of the Jumna "the most tremendous spectacle that the country has ever seen." And these were but a token, as it were, of the unnumbered millions of men and women the world around who wept and prayed in anguish that the Mahatma was no more. "The best known man in the world when he died. . . . How strange the world will seem without him."

II

To pacifists, the Mahatma is supreme not so much for the principles he espoused and taught as for the use which he made of these principles. He had the vision to discover, the intellect to understand, and the courage to adopt, those laws of the spirit which he called *Ahimsa*. But great souls of every age, the spiritual geniuses of history, have proclaimed this truth. Gandhi was the last man in the world to boast originality. He confessed frankly that he got his ideas of non-violence from the Sermon on the Mount, of non-cooperation from Tolstoi, of civil disobedience from Thoreau. And over all was the influence of the Bhagavad-Gita and of Buddha. Gandhi was only one of that select company of souls

who have led the spiritual march of humankind.

Where Gandhi was unique was in his practical application of non-resistant principles to the widest range of human affairs. Up to the time that this Indian got to work, it was possible to argue, and usually was so argued, that these principles were all very lovely, but utterly impracticable. "Resist not evil," "turn the other cheek," "love your enemies," "forgive not seven times but seventy times seven"—these are all very well as laws of an ideal or utopian society, but they will never do in this wicked present-day world. A few quixotic individuals have tried these precepts, a few groups of individuals lived by them in isolated communities—usually with disastrous results! But any use of them on a general scale, as laws of conduct or of the state—this is impossible.

Then Gandhi came along and proved them not only possible, but unconquerable. Never again, so long as men remember anything, can it be said that non-violence, or "Soul Force," to use Gandhi's own phrase, won't work. It *will* work, for Gandhi made it work. Thus, he organized on non-violent principles a rebellion of coolie outcasts in South Africa, and in twenty years, without striking a blow or shedding a drop of blood, with long-suffering sacrifice and enduring patience as his only weapons, freed these wretched people from injustice and oppression. In India he dared to challenge the might of the greatest empire the world has known since the decline and fall of Rome, and in a quarter of a century won independence for his country—and he held no office, commanded no armies, fought no battles, gained no so-called victories of arms! In these last few

months, when a people, new to liberty, broke out into mad violence and slaughter, he stilled the storm by the mere beneficence of his presence, and single-handed brought order out of chaos. "In Calcutta," said Lord Mountbatten, "I have 55,000 soldiers, and riots; in New Delhi I have one man (Gandhi), and peace."

This was Gandhi's triumph. The triumph of the non-violent, i.e., the loving life, not for one man, or group of men, but for the whole great body of mankind! How did he do it?

III

First, by discipline—the discipline of himself. He must in his own person be the perfect non-resistant. Not until he had himself mastered the inner life of the spirit, could he ask others to try it. So he subdued his own body and mind to the inexorable rigor of *Satyagraha*. "Where that fineness and rarity of spirit which I had longed for, has become perfectly natural to me; when I have become incapable of evil; when nothing harsh or haughty occupies, be it momentarily, my thought-world; then, and not till then, will my non-resistance, my non-violence, my firmness in truth, move the heartst of the world."

Having thus disciplined himself, he was ready to take the next step which was to discipline in the same way those who would be his followers. Here was a stupendous task, but he was equal to it. He learned his first lesson and wrought his first great achievement in South Africa where he trained thousands of ignorant and downtrodden coolies to eschew all aggression, all retaliation, all violence, and to stand steadfast and united in the ordeal of suffering, imprisonment and death. A vaster task was the discipline of All-India for the fight for liberty. The

discipline not of a few thousands but of millions of human beings to the supreme test of the ideal! It would seem as though this were a task beyond even the capacity of the Mahatma—the subduing of a vast poverty-stricken, illiterate population to the highest attainments of the spirit. But this Gandhi did, with infinite patience and matchless skill. Not all at once, or at one perfect stroke. His first non-violent non-cooperative campaign against the British Raj was ended by a savage outbreak of violence. But in the end, Gandhi fashioned a whole people after the pattern of his will.

Then came the third and last step, which was the program of non-violence. What to do, and how to do it! For pacifism in this case is not passivism. Non-violence in the Gandhian sense is no mere negative endurance of ill. It is a positive and active expression of love. It is overcoming evil, not with evil, to be sure, but with good. But this demands a plan of campaign, just as definite and all-embracing as any plan for a military campaign. And it is the supreme glory of Gandhi that he conceived and formulated this plan. Here Gandhi was more than a saint and seer—he was also a statesman. The supreme statesman of the spirit! Henceforward, non-resistance was to be more than a sentiment, an ideal,

a religious precept. It was to be a plan of operations. Here were the things we could do to win the victory. More exciting than the campaigns of Napoleon are the campaigns of Gandhi on the plane of his exalted spirit. Here Gandhi was unique—the first man in history to organize and implement the pure religious life!

IV

Now and again we are tempted to believe that pacifism is easy. That we have but to take a stand—and wait for the world to come 'round to us!

Nothing could be farther from the truth. So far from being easy, pacifism is the most difficult, and frequently the most perilous, venture in the world. It exacts the whole service of life; it demands brain as well as heart, and resourcefulness as well as courage. It means the discipline of all our personal and social forces, the making over both of personality and society, and then the directing of the whole to the attainment of the highest ends. Gandhi's career proves not only what can be done, but also the awful ordeal of doing it.

But when it is done—this pacifism that Britain found in India!—it is a thing more terrible than an army with banners.



"We share sympathy with others in Gandhi's death, but sympathy alone solves no problems. Only full acceptance of Gandhi's principles will bring salvation to all. We call on all Gandhists, Doukhobors, Quakers, Tolstoyans, Molokans, Mennonites and all anti-militaristic groups. It is time to unite our forces and call on mankind to repent."

—From a cable sent by Doukhobors of British Columbia to Prime Minister Nehru of India.

SHOULD PACIFISTS HENRY

YES!

says **JAMES PECK**

WHEN YOU get inside the voting booth next November, you will not have much time to think out your decision on which levers to pull down on the voting machine. You will recall the long line of voters waiting outside and the annoyed looks some of them gave you when you took a few extra seconds to jam shut the booth's curtain.

Of course, if you are a pacifist, it should not take you long to decide against pushing down the levers on row A or row B, because you know very well that both the Democrats and Republicans stand for a policy of imperialism and war abroad and continuation of the abuses of our social system at home.

Harry Truman, the probable Democratic candidate, has repeatedly demanded enactment of conscription over here, while supplying arms and money, which enable the corrupt and fascist Greek and Chinese governments to continue waging war.

Thomas Dewey and Harold Stassen, possible Republican candidates, are also strong for conscription and, like Truman, favor building up reactionary governments in Western Europe and the Far East to fight Russia.

Robert Taft and General Douglas MacArthur, also possible Republican candidates, are against conscription, but are by no means antiwar.

THE WALLACE DILEMMA

The presidential candidacy of Wallace is "essentially a dilemma," wrote A. J. Muste in February. Pacifists, who want their votes to count for peace, will want to consider carefully the arguments presented by these two writers. The editors of **FELLOWSHIP** will be glad to hear from any readers who wish to comment on the subject, and will publish as many such letters as space permits.

MacArthur's being an army man puts him out of the running as far as pacifists are concerned. As for Taft, he has with his labor law given American workers a foretaste of how governments hamstring unions in totalitarian states.

Actually there would not be time in the election booth for all these thoughts to run through your mind. Obviously, you would have concluded before you went in that you were not going to vote Democrat or Republican, even though some of your liberal and social democratic friends might have pleaded with you to support the Democrats as the lesser of two evils. In election after election large numbers of Americans, including some pacifists, have voted for the Democratic or Republican parties as the lesser of two evils, with the result of helping per-

(Please turn to page 13)

NOTE for WALLACE?

NO!

says DWIGHT MACDONALD

ON DECEMBER 29, 1947, Henry Agard Wallace announced that he would run for President on a third-party ticket. The last big third-party presidential movement was LaFollette's Progressive Party in 1924. By a historical coincidence, Wallace was nominated by a group calling itself the Progressive Citizens of America. It is, however, only a coincidence.

Many liberals will vote for Henry Wallace next fall in the sincere belief that they are voting for a man who carries on the progressive tradition of LaFollette. They will be mistaken. Many pacifists will also vote for Wallace with the idea that he stands for peace, one world, etc. They will be even more deceived. The man who was the most fervid apologist for World War II, the man who sat with Marshall, Bush, Conant and Stimson on Roosevelt's policy group that planned the Manhattan Project to create the atomic bomb, the man whose only public reference to pacifism was his sneer at "namby-pamby pacifism" at Madison Square Garden in 1946—this is a peculiar "peace candidate" for 1948. The fact that the other two candidates will be no better from a pacifist viewpoint is unfortunate but irrelevant. The only sensible action for a pacifist in 1948, in my opinion, is no action: that is, don't vote.

Myths cluster as thickly around



Henry Wallace as around that other fabulous monster, the hippogriff. How else account for the widely held idea that he is in the tradition of LaFollette and the late George W. Norris? "Fighting Bob" LaFollette deserved his *nom de guerre*: he was a bold crusader for social reform. But Henry Wallace was a timid middle-of-the-roader up to 1942, and even after that date, he has done no more than "talk a good fight."

During his seven years as Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture, he constantly gave in to conservative pressure; whatever crusading was done for the agricultural underprivileged was the work of a New Deal faction within the Department headed by Rexford Tugwell and Jerome Frank; when the food industry brought real pressure to bear, Wallace caved in and fired the New Dealers. As Vice-President, he made pretty speeches on behalf of the Common Man, but did little more. As Secretary of Commerce, he followed policies which to the naked eye were indistinguishable from those of such predecessors as Herbert Hoover.

The thing that chiefly distinguishes Wallace's political behavior from the LaFollette-Norris tradition, how-

ever, is that Wallace has come more and more to orient his policies around the interests not of any segment of his fellow citizens but rather of the Kremlin. It is hard to imagine either LaFollette or Norris taking Wallace's charitable view of the Russian dictatorship, just as one can scarcely envisage them looking on with the detachment, not to say coldness, Wallace showed in 1935. And it is quite impossible to imagine them making Stalin's foreign policy the axis of their domestic politics.

Yet this is precisely what Henry Wallace has been doing for some years, and never more openly than in the present third-party declaration. The main object of this declaration, as he himself incautiously admitted in Buffalo on December 11, 1947, is to siphon off enough votes from Truman to permit the election of a Republican isolationist who may be expected to "go easy" on the Marshall Plan and other expensive devices for containing the Russian drive for world power. That such a President would also pursue reactionary domestic policies—this would be unfortunate, but of little weight compared to the fact that Russia and Russia's world power-position would be buttressed.

Henry Wallace and the USSR

A large power-mass like the Soviet Union exercises a tremendous gravitational pull on an erratic comet like Henry Wallace. In the past year, indeed, Wallace's Comet seems to have become a satellite of the larger body.

Up to 1941, Wallace, like any other solid Iowa citizen, used to damn "communism, fascism and nazism" in one breath. The shift in his views was due neither to ideological conversion nor scholarly investigation but simply to the fact that on June

22, 1941, the invading German army transformed Russia overnight from the sleeping partner of fascism into a Peace-loving, Progressive Democracy. Within a year, Wallace and these American fellow-travelers had mutually discovered each other. They provided him with a flatteringly enthusiastic audience, and with tough-minded political know-how. He gave them the kind of emotional rhetoric they wanted; nor did the fact that he was Vice-President of the United States lessen his attractiveness. It was, in short, a marriage of convenience that has turned into a love match.

It would be tedious—and perhaps, by now, hardly necessary—to cite in detail the copious evidence that Henry Wallace has for years been the mouthpiece of American communism, a Charlie McCarthy manipulated by some very shrewd Edgars Bergens whose ideological if not legal address is 35 East 12th Street, New York City. A few key items from the record may give the flavor:

One speech made Wallace the No. 1 national leader of the American left: the speech he delivered to the Free World Association on May 8, 1942. The only reason that speech became famous was that Ralph Ingersoll, the editor of the New York Stalinoid daily, *PM*, had his paper stage a high-pressure campaign to publicize it. All the other papers played the speech down, ignoring its ideological overtones completely. But *PM* stampeded the liberals.

On November 8, 1942, Wallace gave memorable expression to his "general line" on Russia in a speech delivered to a Soviet Friendship Rally in Madison Square Garden. Here he made his celebrated distinction between "political democracy," which he admitted the United States has, and "economic democracy," which

he saw as the special virtue of Russia. To confuse things still more, he added three other varieties of democracy: ethnic, educational and sexual. Rigged this way, the contest added up in Wallace's box score to: USSR 3, USA 1, with one game (sexual) tied.

In the spring of 1944, Roosevelt sent Wallace on a "goodwill mission" to China and Soviet Asia. Never has one man learned so little from so much travel, judging from the book Wallace later published about his trip. *Soviet Asia Mission* is an ignorant and uncritical rhapsody which could have been, and perhaps has been, issued in Russia by the State Publishing House. Although Wallace toured the very region in which Stalin's prison camps are concentrated, he has nothing to say about them. He is quite severe, however, about the Czar's.

On November 5, 1946, Wallace, endorsing the Congressional candidacy of Vito Marcantonio in New York, stated: "Marcantonio has the best voting record of all the 435 members of Congress." He failed to add that Marcantonio is also the only Congressman who has consistently followed the Communist Party line in his vote. (Earlier that year, Wallace had endorsed another New York Congressional candidate: Johannes Steel, a notorious fellow-traveller.)

Between the Potsdam Conference (August, 1945) and Byrnes' Stuttgart speech (September, 1946), when Russia was diplomatically on the offensive and the United States was following an appeasement policy, Wallace made no public criticisms of Moscow's aggressive tactics and many public criticisms of the feeble American counter-moves. When Byrnes at Stuttgart finally announced a new "firm" policy toward Russia, Wallace's reaction was so

violent that, after the vigorously pro-Russian speech he delivered in Madison Square Garden a few weeks after Byrnes' speech, Truman was forced to insist on his resignation.

The climax to date of Wallace's commitment to Russia was his amazing tour of England and the Continent in the spring of 1947, when he placed the blame for world conflict and tension entirely on the foreign policy of his own country. The details are too recent to need rehearsing here. But one high point, the "farthest North" politically as well as geographically, will bear recalling. In Oslo, Norway, he denounced the American press for suppressing and distorting news but forgot to criticize the Russian press, which was like saying the trouble with Chicago in the days of Capone was that the churches raised money by Bingo games. Then, by some process of association known only to himself, Wallace continued: "*It would be unfortunate for world peace if anything happens inside Russia to upset its system of government at the present time.*" Thus, gratuitously, the Friend of the Common Man gave his full support to the Kremlin's dictatorship against any process of democratic change inside Russia.

It is not true that Henry Wallace is an agent of Moscow. But it is true that he behaves like one.

A Man Divided Against Himself

Henry Wallace is a man not of principle but of principles—all of them all together all at once. He preaches the economics of abundance and plows under every third row. He prepares for the coming Century of the Common Man by taking an active part in planning the atomic bomb. He is for or against material-

istic Progress depending on which paragraph one happens to read. No ward heeler works both sides of the street more assiduously. Although his friends and enemies alike see Wallace as a Planner at home and an Internationalist abroad, an examination of his public utterances shows that he has been careful to offset every tribute to Planning with a salute to Free Enterprise, and to balance his pleas for a daily quart of milk for every inhabitant of the globe with equally impassioned defenses of American imperialism. His book, *Sixty Million Jobs* (1945) was generally taken as a manifesto for New Deal planning and spending, but closer inspection shows that it also calls for a balanced budget, business tax reductions, and a minimum of State planning and spending.

As for imperialism, not only is he sympathetic toward the Russian variety, but he has even said a kind word for that of his own country. During his stay in Paris last year, Wallace tossed off to reporters a new concept, that of Ruthful Imperialism: "He added that former President Roosevelt had sought and the Navy had demanded oil of Saudi Arabia, although the United States had half the world's oil already. 'Nobody will stop us, and yet this is imperialism and to this extent the United States is proud of it. It is not ruthless imperialism but good old-fashioned American imperialism.'" (Moscow papers please copy.) There is, however, one topic on which Henry takes a definite stand, namely, the class struggle. He wants everyone to win it!

This is the political behavior of a man who is profoundly divided against himself. For the fact is that Henry Wallace is not one man but two—and two people of such con-

flicting personalities that they would find it difficult to live inside the same house together, let alone inside the same skin. This is the key to his failure as a political leader, to his confusion in thought and ineffectiveness in action.

Henry Wallace No. 1 is a mystic, an amateur of esoteric doctrines, a man of profound moral convictions, an idealistic visionary whose eyes are fixed on a distant future, who shows a Hamletlike indecision in action, and who lives only for great principles.

Number Two an Opportunist

Henry Wallace No. 2 is an opportunist, adapting himself to the pressures of the moment, ready to fore-swear his deepest convictions for immediate gain, a "practical politician," an extreme example of the American pragmatist, interested in "facts" rather than "theories," in statistics rather than values.

The coexistence of extremes in one personality is not damaging in itself: many temperaments derive their energy from the harmonized tension between extremes. But Wallace lacks the creative "middle term" which modulates between extremes and brings them into some kind of harmony. There is no connection between the two sides of his personality, so that *either* one or the other at any given moment expresses itself, but never a synthesis. Compromise is Wallace's substitute for synthesis, and he is genuinely surprised when it turns out to be an unacceptable substitute.

Lacking the psychological mechanism to modulate between values and action, the general and the particular, emotion and reason, and any number of other antinomies, Wallace can only alternately express the two sides of his nature, think-

ing one moment like a Tibetan seer and the next like a cost accountant, acting one moment like St. Francis of Assisi and the next like Boss Hague.

The Wallace Myth

So deeply split and confused a personality has been, understandably, grossly misunderstood by the public. The confusion has been all the greater because Wallace has built his career on words rather than on actions: sonorous words, heart-warming words, vague wonderful words like *The General Welfare*, *New Frontiers*, *The People's Revolution*, *Economic Democracy*, and *The Century of the Common Man*. Americans have been conditioned to confuse words with acts; conditioned by advertising, by the demagoguery of both "Right" and "Left," whatever those terms still mean; above all, by the impossibility of getting behind a politician's rhetoric without more trouble than most people are willing to take. Hence it has been Wallace's words, not his actions, which both his political friends and enemies have taken seriously.

The result is that a myth has grown up about Wallace, a myth which his opponents as well as his adherents have accepted. Thus *The New York Times* editorialized on the occasion of Wallace's nomination for Vice-President in 1940: "Whatever distrust of or opposition to his policies there may be, it is always accompanied by respect and esteem for the man. In more than ten years of public service, he has raised no crop of enemies. His integrity, sincerity, disinterestedness and good will are manifest to all." Most people would agree with this estimate. Yet it is pure mythology.

Let me conclude this article with a few examples of Wallace's political behavior, drawn from an almost

inexhaustible reservoir of such shabby episodes in his career:

(a) In addressing the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship on November 8, 1942, Wallace quoted De Tocqueville as follows: "There are at the present time two great nations of the world which seem to tend toward the same end, although they start from different points. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. [The American struggles against nature, the Russian against his fellow men. . . . To gain his end, the American relies on personal interest, permitting the strength and intelligence of individuals to have free play without control from above. But the Russian concentrates in one man the whole power of society. The one has for its principal means of action Liberty; the other, Servitude.] Their starting-point is different and their course is not the same, yet each of them seems to be marked by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe." The sentences in brackets were omitted by Wallace.

(b) On January 27, 1947, he wrote in *The New Republic*: "The point I want to make is that the liberals today in the so-called warring groups are about 90 per cent in agreement. Some people who have read about 'Mrs. Roosevelt's ADA and Henry Wallace's PCA' have written in, asking, 'How does it happen that Henry Wallace and Mrs. Roosevelt are in warring camps?' The answer is: 'We are not.' I am not a member of the PCA and Mrs. Roosevelt, to the best of my knowledge, is not a member or an officer of the ADA. I spoke to one organization urging unity in the progressive ranks. Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to the other."

It is technically true that Wallace is not a member of the PCA, though a larger concept of truth would embrace the fact that PCA

is built around only one man, Henry Wallace. But Mrs. Roosevelt *was* a member of ADA, as Wallace could have found out by a call to her or to ADA, or a perusal of the newspapers. His whole picture of the ADA-PCA split, based on a false statement, was thus misleading. The next day Mrs. Roosevelt publicly reaffirmed her membership in ADA. No correction was made by Wallace or by *The New Republic*.

(c) On February 5, 1935, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace "purged" a half dozen top officials of his department, headed by Jerome Frank, General Counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Authority (AAA). For two years the department had been split by a struggle between the Frank liberals, who were backed by Rexford Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and the conservatives, led by Chester Davis, head of AAA, who spoke for the old-line farm organizations and the big food processors. The Tugwell-Frank liberals wanted a New Deal in agriculture; specifically, they wanted to use AAA to protect the consumer against exorbitant price increases, and to improve the lot of the agricultural "underprivileged": the farm hands, the tenant farmers, and especially the sharecroppers. The conservatives wanted to use AAA for one thing only: to increase prices. For the rest, the packers and canners and milk companies were quite satisfied with things as they were, as were also the "400-acre farmers" who dominated the Grange and the Farm Bureau. The conflict was basic, sharp and impossible to compromise. After sitting on the fence for two years, Wallace finally climbed down on the conservative side. Taking advantage of Tugwell's absence from Washington, he let Davis demand without advance warning, the imme-

diately resignation of Frank and the other top New Dealers. The purgees could not believe that Wallace, who had always given them the impression that he was spiritually on their side, had authorized this coup, or even knew about it. Only the cynical Lee Pressman—a Stalinoid who has just resigned as general counsel of the CIO to campaign, ironically enough, for the man who fired him in 1935—had accurately gauged Wallace's character: "You'll see," he told his incredulous colleagues, "H. A. knows all about it, and okayed it." He was right. The next morning's papers carried a statement from unidentified "spokesmen for Secretary Wallace and Mr. Davis" charging that "those who resigned were troublemakers who let their social theories stand in the way of restoring farm prosperity."

(d) During the delivery of his Madison Square Garden speech in the fall of 1946, the fellow-travelers who packed the hall booed at one or two mildly critical remarks about Russian policy. Wallace was visibly upset; for the rest of the speech, he simply omitted, from the typed copy before him, all uncomplimentary references to Russia. Asked why later, he replied: "Because I felt I had been booed enough. I didn't see any particular point in making a riot there."

(e) Businessmen as well as Communists intimidate Wallace. When he addressed the American Business Congress in 1943, he omitted the following sentence, which appeared in the transcript released to the press: "The present high concentration of investment banking in New York is itself incompatible with free enterprise, for only large national corporations have access on reasonable terms to that market." It is perhaps superfluous to note that the Congress was in New York.

PECK . . . continued

petuate the two-party system and forestalling any social change which a progressive opposition party might bring about.

The only question which might still be in doubt when you enter the booth is whether, as a pacifist, you would be more effective voting for Henry Wallace on his third party ticket or for Norman Thomas on the Socialist Party ticket. I cast my ballot for Thomas in 1940 as a protest against war, even though I realized that his opposition would cease once war was declared. But in 1948 I will cast my ballot for Wallace:

1. Because at present he has a more antiwar position than Thomas.

2. Because his running on an antiwar, progressive platform may mean the beginning of a much-needed people's third party which will oppose the policies of the two tweedle-dum-and-tweedle-dee parties.

It is true that neither Wallace nor Thomas opposed World War II once it was declared. It is also almost certain, I believe, that in the event a Third World War is declared, neither man will oppose it. But right now, in 1948, Wallace is taking a strong antiwar position while Thomas is swallowing the sugar coatings with which Wall Street envelops its imperialism-war plans.

As for the Marshall Plan, despite efforts of its supporters to differentiate between it and the barefisted United States war policy in Greece, Paul Porter, chief of the recent economic mission to Greece, has asserted that the two are inseparable and that the success of the Marshall Plan depends on the success of the Greek policy. Yet Thomas's stand on the Marshall Plan is one of critical support.

Wallace, on the other hand, said

in his acceptance speech: "I fight the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan as applied because they divide Europe into two warring camps. I have fought and shall continue to fight programs which give guns to people when they want plows."

Many of Thomas's statements have been used in the press as part of the campaign to whip up public sentiment for war with Russia. A flagrant example was A Cable To Bevin, which Thomas signed along with such reactionaries as Bishop William Manning, President Robert Gannon of Fordham University and Clare Booth Luce. Appearing January 1946 in *The New Leader*, the cable called for an "effective common policy and common action" by the governments of the United States and Britain "in relation to the ambitious and unilateral acts of Soviet Russia."

Criticizing the cable and chiding men such as Thomas for signing it, A. J. Muste of the FOR wrote *The New Leader*: "The inference is that Britain and the United States must use their economic and military resources against Russia in the power-struggle in which these nations are involved. The net political effect of this statement at the present juncture is to support the Truman-Vandenberg-Dulles-Byrnes-Baruch 'bi-partisan' policy vis-a-vis Russia."

Press Adds Fuel

Actually, even a statement devoting equal space to denouncing Wall Street policy and Russian policy will be used by the American newspapers as simply a denunciation of Russia, and will thus add fuel to the pro-war fire.

For an antiwar statement to be effective from a publicity viewpoint in the American press, it must be

almost completely devoted to denouncing Wall Street policy with only a few sentences denouncing Russian policy. Wallace's statements are thus drawn up with the result that the newspapers cannot use them for prowar propaganda as they often use Thomas's. While Wallace took up most of his acceptance speech attacking Wall Street policy, he made plain: "I am utterly against any kind of imperialism or expansionism whether sponsored by Britain, Russia or the United States and I call on Russia as well as the United States to look at all our differences objectively and free from that prejudice which the hate-mongers have engendered on both sides."

The speech goes on to assert: "What the world needs is a United Nations disarmament conference to rid humanity for all time of the threat not only of atomic bombs, but also of all other methods of mass destruction." Pacifists will heartily agree with this as well as with Wallace's opposition to conscription. In all fairness it must be said that Thomas also opposes conscription, which makes the two candidates even on that issue.

However, it must be recalled that Thomas, because of his sympathy with the British Labor government, did not oppose that government's recent labor conscription, its attempt to break the recent miners' strike as well as other strikes, and its pursuance of the traditional British imperialism abroad. It seems to me that Thomas justifies any means taken by the British government to gain its ends, just as William Foster justifies any means taken by the Russian government to gain its ends.

(When I refer to Thomas, I am criticizing him, not as an individual but as chief spokesman for the So-

cialist Party, a position which he has occupied since the days of Eugene Debs. Thomas has said he will not be a candidate in 1948. In that event, the man who is the Socialist candidate will almost certainly be an adherent of Thomas's policies, which in effect are the policies of the party today.)

A suggestion that pacifists should seek nomination of a pacifist instead of Thomas on the Socialist ticket, was made by Theodore Walser of the New York FOR at a recent panel discussion on what should be the political role of the WRL today. Even if a pacifist could be nominated in Thomas's place, the value of the move would be doubtful. The Socialist Party in Canada has helped form a sizable and effective third party—the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. But in the United States the Socialist Party seems politically bankrupt and with no roots among the people. Like the other leftist parties, it suffers from sectarianism, factionalism and ivory-tower radicalism.

Has Native Roots

Wallace's movement, on the other hand, does have some roots among the American people and may therefore be the start of a much-needed progressive third party. It is true, as the non-Communist leftist parties point out, that Wallace's party is not a workers party. However, the Wallace platform cannot be compared with the perennial Democratic and Republican platforms which promise everything to everybody in the vaguest terms. It is a platform of plainly stated opposition to Wall Street and its drive toward war and will serve to unite persons all over the country who think alike on these issues.

Both major parties always have a

Fellowship

plank in their platforms opposing racial discrimination in principle. Wallace opposes it in practice when he refuses to speak at meetings in the South unless they are unsegregated. At one meeting during his recent tour, the authorities did enforce jimcrow and Wallace spoke anyway. Such an incident would probably be pounced upon by critics of Wallace such as Dwight Macdonald. I believe that this incident is trivial compared with the many instances in which Wallace succeeded in stipulating non-jimcrow seating as a prerequisite for his speaking.

That Communist Backing

The most-repeated objection to Wallace is the fact that he is backed by Communists and their fronts. The fact that Communists do back him tends to prove my contention that he is the strongest antiwar candidate because the party line over here is antiwar and will continue to be in the current world situation—not because of opposition to war as such but of opposition to war against Russia.

Incidentally, if you were against everything the Communists endorse over here and in countries where they have not come into power with their totalitarian dictatorships, you would have to be against unionism, racial equality and civil liberties as well as against anything antiwar.

Thus far I have only pointed out reasons for supporting Wallace, which I believe outweigh the reasons for opposing him. However, it must be pointed out that Wallace is not of the same calibre as third party candidates such as Eugene Debs or even as Robert LaFollette, Sr. It is true, as Dwight Macdonald points out, that a study of his speeches shows inconsistencies and shiftings of opinion. Some of his

speeches are definitely up-in-the-clouds. For instance his well-known century-of-the-common-man speech, made as a spokesman for the Roosevelt administration, had no bearing on the administration's actual policies at that time.

What Wallace would do, if he won the election, is unpredictable. He might well be easy prey for the cagy Wall Street boys and their political stooges. He might be forced to go along with them, rationalizing it by giving lip service against them. But this is a completely hypothetical question, since he is certain not to win.

As some of these facts run through your mind, you might be tempted to become anti-political-action and leave the booth without voting. I will not do this because, while I consider direct action far more important and effective than political action, I do not think political action should be ignored.

On the other hand you might feel like raising the write-in slot of the voting machine and inscribing the name of one of your pacifist friends. I will not do this because I think that a pacifist can more effectively express his opposition to war in 1948 by voting for Wallace. The bigger the vote for Wallace, the more definitely the powers that be will know that a large number of Americans do not support what Wallace describes as "the bi-partisan reactionary war policy which is dividing the world into two armed camps and making inevitable the day when American soldiers will be lying in their Arctic suits in the Russian snow."

In a forthcoming issue: "Pacifists Should Vote Socialist," by Donald Harrington, of Community Church, New York.

London Letter

January 1948

THIS YEAR, with only four more weeks of normally serious cold before us, we Londoners are rejoicing in an open winter. The luck of the weather makes possible not only the conservation of our slender coal supplies which last year vanished like snow on the desert; it also permits the enjoyment of many cultural activities which in January 1947 were abandoned in frozen despair.

But winter, even when relatively merciful, always increases the size of radio audiences. The Midland Regional Station, with its headquarters in Birmingham, recently started a series of Town Forums which may well have been inspired by America's Town Meeting of the Air. This program is held monthly at different Midland centres. Four so-called experts face a Town Hall audience of 500 or so, and for three-quarters of an hour about a dozen spontaneous questions and their unrehearsed answers are broadcast throughout the Midlands.

In the January Forum, I was one of the "experts" invited to broadcast from the Town Hall at West Bromwich, an industrial borough lying on the outskirts of Birmingham.

The inquiries put to us all related to the day-by-day preoccupations of an industrial area in a period of economic crisis: they turned on wages, working hours, prices, the cost of living, the effect on industry of the recently raised school-leaving

age. Had the devaluation of the French franc occurred before the meeting, the questioners would certainly have voiced their anxiety over the undoubtedly devastating effect which this financial expedient is likely to have on British prices. Though London is only 112 miles from Birmingham, the questions raised at a London Forum would have been quite different. Russia, Germany, the Labor Government, and the failure of the recent London Conference, would all have been featured.

Like Seventeenth Century

The Home Service Programs broadcast from London included just before Christmas the first of a series of revived "Scrapbooks," which enable the present to be compared with the past and current history to be seen in perspective. *Scrapbook 1912* reproduced the atmosphere of the period just before the First World War; the next, *Scrapbook 1927*, will indicate the effects of that war, and lead on to the third, which will illustrate the nineteen-thirties and the rise of a new militarism in Europe. Taking part, as a provincial debutante just out of school, in *Scrapbook 1912*, I realized with the rest of the cast how utterly remote from the present that world of illusive tranquillity has become. A study that I am now making of the Seventeenth Century for a biographical story of John Bunyan gives me a sense of being nearer to 1648 (when the Treaties of West-

phalia closed the Thirty Years War exactly three centuries ago) than to 1912.

This parallel was emphasized by a visit made last summer, just after writing my "Cologne Letter," to the university city of Münster, one of the two at which the Treaties of Westphalia were signed (the other being Osnabrück). While I was there to address the students at an International Summer School, we had almost the only heavy rain to fall in Europe last summer. As I picked my way between the flooded bomb-holes which still make the shattered streets of the old city almost impassable, I could as readily imagine myself in the Europe of the Thirty Years War described in Grimms-hausen's contemporary novel, *Simplicissimus*, as in the Twentieth Century after the Second World War.

Deepening Inhumanity

Other parallels between our own century and the Seventeenth are to be found in the deepening inhumanity which Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist who wrote *The Right of War and Peace* in 1625, noticed between the Dutch War of his boyhood and the Thirty Years War of his maturity; in the rise throughout Europe (apart from England and Holland) of absolutist dictators; and in the frustration of the attempts by Grotius and his Oxford predecessor Alberico Gentili to found a science of international law by the aggressions late in the century of Louis XIV of France. Whether the true parallel to Louis is Hitler or Stalin still remains to be seen.

Among British pacifists and near-pacifists there is a growing anxiety regarding America's present fear of Russia (which is undoubtedly reciprocated in Moscow) and the policies to which it appears to be leading.

In spite of the vigorously opposed and much-disliked period of conscription which has been fastened upon our young men, it is not only pacifists who feel perturbation when they read of the military preparations recommended by President Truman's Air Policy Committee, and compare the more than \$10 billion to be spent next year on war preparations with the simple if personally costly act of self-sacrifice by which Mr. Gandhi recently reconciled two warring religious communities as bitterly at loggerheads as the Catholics and Protestants of Seventeenth Century Europe.

Measure of a Nation's Fear

Sometimes it seems as though the measure of a nation's fear stands in direct relation to the power and might which by worldly standards should render their owner secure against attack. Though Britain, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, would undoubtedly be the "advanced base" coveted by both sides in a U.S.-Soviet war and hence the first recipient of an "improved" atomic bomb, there seems, despite the London Conference and Mr. Bevin's speeches, to be less fear of Russia in this country than in many American writings and utterances which are reported here.

In 1945, during a tour of Scandinavia, I was greatly impressed by the fearlessness of Norway, a small "have-not" power with a common frontier with Russia in the Nazi-devastated northern province of Finland which she could not hope to defend. It was instructive to compare this courageous friendliness toward the Russians with the apprehensive uneasiness of prosperous, comfortable Sweden.

(Concluded on page 19)

We Beseech You

A MEDITATION BY ALAN BALDING*

THE SERVICE OF GOD demands a great humility. And pacifists tend to appear, and tend to be, strong individualists. It is difficult to be, and to remain to the end, sure of our conviction and yet not at all sure of ourselves. We find it hard, so to break step as to walk with God and yet thereafter to walk humbly.

The disciples were commissioned to share and continue their Lord's ministry, to call men to repentance. But Jesus knew how sensitive a man must be who would, without self-consciousness, call on another to repent. He set a child in the midst, but we have not always remembered.

During his earthly ministry, our Lord found it easier to persuade sinners than the genuinely good. It remains harder for the Christian than for the pagan to repent. In this new year of grace—how full of new meaning is that lovely phrase, for us whose witness between the wars seemed so ineffectual!—we are called again to this most difficult form of evangelism. Our usefulness to God and to our fellow Christians depends, as always, on our humility. Reconciliation is the end and reconciliation the method: "beseech" is the operative verb.

As the war progressed, there was a pathetic weakening in the Christian criticism of its operations. The fight for freedom was to be cleanly waged, a crusade indeed; the Christian conscience would not tolerate any adoption of the methods of an unscrupulous enemy. But one mili-

tary necessity after another was accepted with yet weaker protest, until the loosing of the atom bomb shocked us into awareness of the infamy into which, imperceptibly, the war had brought us.

The war ended, and he would need to be very wise or very rash who would attempt to measure how far the Christian conscience (these perilous abstractions!) has recovered from the shock. For a few months at least, we have lived in clear sight of the abyss—an abyss not merely of physical destruction, which might not matter finally, but of moral and spiritual bankruptcy, which does. A semi-official Commission of the Churches has conceded that the Christian pacifist may be right, and there the matter would appear for the moment to rest. We can see no great eagerness to face the issues implicit in this new era. There is no present prospect, within or outside the churches, of such enthusiasm as made the League of Nations Union so flourishing an organization and the question of pacifism so popular a topic in the 1920's. After a second World War, Christians and non-Christians alike are rather more weary than after the first; we suspect that the non-pacifist will not be readily persuaded to face again the problems of war and peace.

The Christian witness was hesitant and divided in 1914 because the churches had been taken unprepared—so we pleaded, by way of generous excuse, in the years that followed the war. Many more of us had faced the issue before 1939, and the whole Church was at any rate aware that

* Chairman of the British FOR. This meditation is reprinted from *Reconciliation*, January, 1947.

there was a challenge to be met. But we were not yet prepared. Pacifism is apt to seem an issue academic and remote, until without warning it becomes terribly alive. The debate never seems important until the time for debating is suddenly past, and then, for want of new convictions, men have to disown their misgivings and again to act. Be he never so anxious to discover and to do the will of God, the Christian who has been thus a second time pushed into decision is in no mood to disclaim a past so recent and so costly.

There is but one approach. The atom bomb has not changed the true nature of war, nor modified, or even reinforced, the Christian argument. Humbly, patiently and with courtesy and tact, we can but invite our fellow Christians to look again at Calvary.

There is an old prophetic word which, interpreted in the glory of Jesus Christ, says what we again would say: "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." *The Christian who justifies war does so only because it seems a desperate remedy for a desperate situation.* He and we have again, in the mercy of God, opportunity to ask together how God has in fact dealt with human sin. If only we can meet there, in the humility of men whose sins are being forgiven, we may together find repentance, new life and new insight.

We are called again, we pacifist Christians, to preach repentance to our fellow Christians. We preach as men who take no credit for the faith by which they live; we preach as men who have a trust to share, and many a gift to receive.

BRITAIN . . . concluded

Franklin Roosevelt once memorably said: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." A Britisher finds it hard to see, even in a shrinking world, where the national interests of Russia and America could genuinely collide. Cannot the potential protagonists of a Third World War take courage from Mahatma Gandhi's example before it is too late? "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

Postscript

February 1

Two days after I had air-mailed this Letter, Mahatma Gandhi, the patron saint of pacifism, was assassinated in New Delhi by a Hindu extremist. He has become one of the few great martyrs for peace, a victim of those dark forces of violence which he lived and finally died to reconcile.

Gandhi's task has now become his legacy, bequeathed to all of us, humble and faltering, who try to practice his creed of non-violence. Our responsibility is enormous, and the measure of our capacity to carry and enlarge it more vital than ever to the future of mankind. This is one of those moments in history when some surpassing event, terrible or glorious, calls men away from selfish trivialities to face the profound issues of their day. Two thousand years ago, another Victim of violence became the instrument of man's Atonement. In His Name, and that of the saints and saviors who like Gandhi have followed Him through death, we can if we will change the downward drift of this generation into a triumphant march towards the City of God.

Begin Here

or

WHAT TO DO TILL THE REVOLUTION COMES

After having been badgered for years by our members ("But what can we do?" they cry plaintively. "Give us some *ideas!*"), the National Staff has at last been goaded into getting together some Action Suggestions and printing them up. If you are the sole pacifist in a community of militarists, like a lonely rose in a patch of thorns, or if there are lots of other roses on the bush, some of these ideas will suit your needs.

1. If you're in college you can get FOR speakers before classes, chapel services, convocations, student conventions, theological seminary gatherings, and special meetings.

2. Reach the foreign exchange students in your city or college and acquaint them with the FOR faith and program. (Write National for names.)

3. Form an informal discussion or study group on international relations for non-pacifists or near-pacifists, meeting in someone's home.

4. Intensify the fight against peacetime conscription, which is now in a critical stage. Write National for new leaflets and old standbys.

5. Promote a sermon on peace in all the churches in your city or county on some special day, among both pacifist and non-pacifist pastors.

6. Deliberately widen your own or your group's contacts this year with persons and organizations outside your own occupation, race, social class, and religion.

7. Establish a Literature Committee, or be one yourself if you do not belong to a group. Find ways to distribute literature to unions, farm groups, youth organizations, churches, and service clubs, and to promote the sale of pacifist books and pamphlets.

8. Form a group of pacifist ministers to hold an occasional breakfast or luncheon meeting and plan what pacifist ministers can do in their churches and their community.

9. Set up a table of peace literature (not organization literature) in your public library. Set up exhibits on peace and international understanding, with material on peace which will help public understanding, and some peace organization magazines.

10. Form or join a small pacifist cell, meeting weekly, with a rounded program of worship, study and action.

11. Hold a retreat for council members of your city, and other interested persons.

12. Set up a Speakers Bureau, providing speakers on pacifist sub-

jects for church youth groups, clubs, forums, schools and colleges, etc. Try to get the challenge of religious pacifism presented at least once a year in every church and synagogue in your community.

13. Have a series of Fellowship Forums on subjects related to peace, to be held in four succeeding weeks. Set up a series of Fellowship Classes, a real training course in peace organization.

14. Organize a Fellowship Dinner, with a speaker and a major program.

15. Hold a series of lectures on subjects related to peace, such as co-operatives, American foreign policy, etc.

16. Put on a lecture concert, combining explanation with music by talented artists, the whole dedicated to unity of people by way of music.

17. Plan a memorial service on Hiroshima Day, August 6.

18. Set up a "Committee of Correspondence" to maintain contact with other local groups or individual members in your own vicinity or elsewhere by letter.

19. Promote fellowship by a series of summer and fall picnics for your own and neighboring groups, inviting non-pacifists.

20. Push the FOR War Victims Fund, Food Package and Literature Gift Parcels projects.

21. Establish a rumor clinic like those in wartime, to aid the peace by exposing vicious rumors in race relations, vicious rumors about foreign relations, etc. Requires a method of getting hold of rumors, getting the truth, and publishing it.

22. Set up a local Consultative Peace Council with representatives from the peace organizations in the city or county.

23. Arrange a Council on International Relations with representatives from organizations interested in the subject, whether pacifist or not. Such a group would be of sufficient stature to hold big public meetings with speakers of national importance.

24. Set up a local Committee on Atomic Information to promote public understanding of the atomic bomb and peacetime use of atomic energy.

25. Organize a local group of the National Mental Health Foundation, with progressive local doctors and public citizens on the committee. Ex-CPS men who worked in mental hospitals should be consulted.

26. Ex-prison COs who know what jail is like can start a group to improve local prison conditions.

27. Consider promoting an Interracial Fellowship and/or Interracial Church in your community.

28. Promote an action project to break down jimcrow in some sector of your community's life. The National Racial-Industrial Department will tell you how to go about it.

29. Set aside at least half an hour a day for meditation, prayer and devotional reading so that wisdom and power from beyond ourselves may act through us.

30. Have faith that the way of love and reconciliation will work in our homes, our communities, our country, and throughout the world.

Clash Coincident

WALLACE HAMILTON

On the street corner stood the statesman. Unexpected, true, but no mistaking the composite of varied forms and strivings. There stood a flint-faced Roman and cherubic Metternich, bishop of the Church Militant and a squat labor leader. All in one. A distillation.

Perhaps his walk first set the mark of statesmanship upon him. Each foot was placed with slow deliberation, and the weaving shift of pace and angle showed the devious subtlety of his mind.

His trousers were not striped to fit the fashion of his trade;—that was deceptive. His coat was ancient, bagged, and stained with the remnants of many meals.

But his eyes were fierce and clever, swept the world with their defiance. They focused nowhere in particular, but swerved and searched the tangle round him, war in their bloodshot hunting.

He frowned. He clenched his fists and thrust them out before him; left extended; right held tight and guarding. So he moved, went down the street with his deliberate gait.

He passed the red flash of neon signs, the odorous doors of bar rooms. He paused under a street lamp to survey and calculate. His nose was smashed and fresh blood gleamed upon his lip, streaked his stubbled cheek.

With sudden firm decision, he pushed away the lamppost. He carried with him, down the street, his private world of terror, triumph, and subterranean urgings. He muttered the progress of his great designs, "... comes in ... the cheap squirt ... starts tellin' me ... start

tellin' him ... think you're smart huh ... wise guy, huh ... "

His fists began to move, grave and patterned as a minuet. "... kick the tar outta yuh ... don't think I can huh ... awright ... just keep comin' ... just cross that line ... go ahead cross that line ... "

As the statesman walked, he brushed against another statesman traveling in still another private world.

There followed on the harsh-lit corner a clash coincident of patterned natures and pretentious fantasy that smeared the street with blood.

Dr. Georgia Harkness, FOR member and chairman of the Department of Theology and Philosophy at Garrett Biblical Institute, is a co-winner of the Abingdon-Cokesbury Award for a book offering "the greatest good for the Christian faith and Christian living among all people." Dr. Harkness' book, *Prayer and the Common Life*, will be published in the spring.

* * *

Officials of the Montana Council of Churches protested the statement of the Governor of Montana, Sam C. Ford, that displaced persons would not be welcome in his state. Gov. Ford refused to attend the conference of the governors of western states called to consider how many DPs each state could successfully assimilate.

* * *

The National Committee for Atomic Information, founded by the scientists to educate the public about atomic energy and atom bombs, may be forced to close within the next two or three months unless new funds can be raised.

News from the Peace Front

Report of the Curious Editor

The plea of the Curious Editor, who in the October issue asked readers for their reactions to FELLOW-SHIP's regular features, inspired 130 readers—about one percent of the total circulation—to reply. This leaves the editor still curious, of course, since who is to know how representative the 130 are?

For the record, though, most of those who replied approved of all the features, though with reservations and with expressions of preferences in some cases. Though no provision had been made for registering the order of preference, so many replied in this way that the office statisticians (two small boys taking third-grade arithmetic) included it in their final report.

	Holmes	Subheads	Muste	Hamilton	Books	Letters
Replies	121	117	113	105	113	112
Like	78	69	85	64	100	95
Special preference	21	14	15	4	2	7
Exceptional approval	6	16	7	1	1	2
Fair or Doubtful ..	4	2	2	8	5	3
Dislike	12	14	4	28	5	5
Marked dislike ...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Exceptional disapproval	...	...	...	...	...	...

Kagawa Calendar

On sale now is a Kagawa calendar for 1948, with quotations from the writings of the well-known Japanese pacifist and Christian. Calendars are 10c each or 12 for \$1, and proceeds go to Japanese relief. Write Perry Saito, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.

Encouraging Letters

The letters that often accompanied the replies were heartwarming and encouraging, and confirmed the editors in their long-standing opinion that they have, by and large, the nicest group of readers in the business. Any number of readers indignantly denied using the magazine to swat flies, and asserted they read it "from cover to cover." One honest individual ruefully confessed that he *had* tried the fly-swatting trick one time, and broken a window!

Most controversial feature appeared to be *Subheads*, characterized by some as witty, pithy, and sparkling, and by others as sarcastic and "bitter." Some writers footnoted their comments on this and other features with the reminder that "no editor ever satisfied all his readers"—a fact that is well known by ye editor.

Ministers Oppose UMT

In a poll conducted by the Nebraska Council of Churches, Protestant ministers voted 279 to 24 against UMT. Of those opposed, 132 feared militaristic indoctrination, 127 thought it would lead to war, 114 said it was useless in an atomic age.

Halt! About, Face!

In a surprise move, the *Post*, one of New York's important evening papers, came out on January 21 against UMT. This was a complete about-face from its former position, which has been strongly pro-UMT ever since the issue first came up in 1944.

Stating that this country has become obsessed with war hysteria and in the name of democracy is preparing for war which would certainly destroy that democracy, the *Post's* editor, T. O. Thackrey, pointed out that the cry for bullets, not bread, and guns, not butter, has been the cry of every dictator from Attila to Hirohito. He then called attention to the budget, of which over half is for military purposes; the recommendation of the Air Policy Commission for billions for air power; the removal of Landis of the Civil Aeronautics Board in favor of a military man; and the anti-Communist purge in government.

Thackrey then declared, "Some time ago the proposal that the United States adopt UMT in peacetime, to give us reserves of military strength if our plans and efforts to achieve the peace should fail, seemed sound, sensible and wise to us, and we gave it our support. . . . We are no longer willing to see this added regimentation of our national human resources in a program already beyond bounds in its emphasis on war, and its neglect of equally determined effort to win the peace. . . ."

A few days later the *Post* attacked the cynical power politics this country is playing, saying, "We are suffering from a veritable war psychosis, in which every plea for honor, decency, justice and humanity in the foreign field is being brushed

aside on the excuse that military security against Russia demands that we ally ourselves with Arabian despot, Greek reactionaries and British chauvinists."

On January 13, a few days before the *Post's* about-face, Washington columnist I. F. Stone of *PM* analyzed the President's budget, comparing the enormous sums demanded for military purposes with the pitiful amounts suggested for health, housing, education and social welfare. He said that the terrific costs of the "Cold War" give a measure of what it would be worth in dollars and cents to reach an agreement with the Russians, and make the UN work for peace instead of war, and concludes that perhaps we ought to let the generals and the admirals take a back seat for a while, and try a little diplomacy.

National Figures Will Aid Workshops

The two Interracial Workshops to be held by the FOR in Washington, D. C. and in California, will have the counsel of local and national leaders in the field of race relations, who will meet with Workshoppers from time to time to discuss general problems or the particular problems of the group. Among those who met with the group in Washington last year were Mary McLeod Bethune, E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University, Gloster Current of the NAACP, and others.

Participation in either of the Workshops will cost about \$70, including food and rent, but not transportation. Prospective participants who would like scholarship aid should apply to the Racial-Industrial Department. Send for application blank and the report of last year's Workshop.

Pacifist Granted American Citizenship

Paul Kurt Ackermann, FOR member and ex-member of the Fine Arts CPS unit, became a citizen of the United States on January 4, 1948. Ackermann, who took out First Papers when he came here from Germany in 1935, received his citizenship in accordance with the Supreme Court decision in the Girouard case, when it ruled in April 1947 that an alien cannot be denied citizenship on grounds that if naturalized he would not bear arms in the country's defense. Until that decision, many pacifists were denied citizenship.

Panama Rebuffs American Arrogance

The Republic of Panama has refused to extend the leases held by the United States on 14 military bases outside of the Canal Zone. This stand, taken in spite of the fact that the economic life of Panama, as of most South and Central American countries, is largely dependent on the United States, points up smoldering resentment against American race prejudice and the high-handed actions of United States military, business and diplomatic representatives in Panama.

The racial intolerance of Americans is particularly ironic in the eyes of Panamanians, many of whose blood lines are mixed with that of West Indian Negroes imported by the United States to work on the building of the Canal.

The United States B-29 base at Rio Hato, one of the most important of the bases now refused to the United States, became a *cause celebre* dur-

ing the war when Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia, President of the Republic, and several of his officials were removed from his official car and searched at gun point by American sentries.

Their offense was attempting to cross the boundaries of the field, which was built astride the Panama City-David Highway, the only route linking the two cities.

More Arms Demanded for Greece

On February 4 Secretary of State Marshall announced that he would send a message to Congress very soon asking for large-scale military aid for Greece and Turkey. The two countries would receive only economic aid under the ERP.

The Greek government, which recently received five shiploads of arms and supplies from this country, passed a law in December making a man who goes on strike liable to be hanged. The CIO here, in surprisingly restrained language, said that this action "may very well diminish" American labor's support of ERP.

Reports from Athens are that 90 percent of the American aid staff in Greece plans to quit after June through despair of getting even the most essential economic reforms adopted by the Greek government.

On January 14 the United States Air Forces announced the reopening of the Mellaha airbase, outside Tripoli. The announcement said that this was made necessary "because of the additional supply-carrying transport flights necessary to service American missions in the Middle East. . . ." Russia protested that this was contrary to the treaty for Italy signed by the Allies.

Bowles Decries Politics in Relief

Chester Bowles, former OPA head who is now chairman of the UN Appeal for Children, returned recently from Europe, where he found resentment among the people against "the exploitation of their children's hunger in the name of power politics."

Evidently up in arms at what he had seen, Bowles said bluntly, "they are unanimous in their abhorrence of the political conditions in which so much of their daily bread is wrapped . . . bitter at having to swallow the hammer and sickle or the American eagle to get it."

Students Defeat Campus Jimcrow

As a result of an FOR-sponsored Interracial Institute held at the University of Indiana last spring, students this winter decided to organize a boycott against restaurants which practiced discrimination. To avoid publicity, the University authorities called a conference of the proprietors of twelve restaurants in the campus area, and all twelve agreed to abandon discrimination, and have done so. In return, students agreed to give the change no publicity.

In addition, all segregation in housing in the University has been abandoned, and a barbershop whose barbers walked out rather than serve a Negro has been reopened under a management committed not to discriminate.

In Bloomington, Illinois, students of Illinois Wesleyan and Normal State University, after months of futile negotiations, began to picket and boycott restaurants near their schools that were practicing dis-

crimination. Eventually the President of Normal State University called in the picketers and the proprietors of the restaurants, and told the latter that unless they changed their policy the University would stop trying to dissuade students from their direct action course. A day or so later the restaurant owners agreed to serve all students, beginning with the new semester in early January.

"So long as one man is in prison . . ."

On receiving an Amnesty Board-inspired pardon, one young Moravian CO who served a long term in prison wrote to President Truman regretting that there had been no general amnesty, and went on: "Yet, for myself, sir, I must respectfully submit that I am not worthy of a pardon. For as long as it is a crime in this country to protest against war in deed, I will continue to be a criminal. And I don't believe, Mr. President, that in that case I would want to be known otherwise than as a criminal."

Honolulu FOR Combats UMT

The Honolulu FOR recently succeeded in getting an airing for the subject of UMT on the weekly radio forum of the Republican Club there. The FOR secured two anti-UMT speakers for the program.

The interest aroused was so great, and the volume of questions telephoned in so large that the discussion, originally scheduled to last an hour, was extended for fifteen minutes beyond that, and was renewed for another hour-and-a-quarter program the next week.

Fellowship

Students Criticize China Aid Plan

Whether or not the United States should provide economic and military aid to the Chinese National government became the major topic of debate at the North American Student Conference on Christian Frontiers in Kansas at the end of December. Although the sole purpose of leaders who called the conference was to enlist students in missionary service, and conference spokesmen said that political beliefs and ideas should not enter into the program, a large number of students felt differently.

After hearing Congressman Walter Judd, a former medical missionary, who said the United States should send financial and military aid to the Chiang government, students cornered him and demanded "What about the United Nations?" and "Shall we take up our guns and start marching?" After the discussion with Judd, students proposed that General Feng Yu Hsiang, enemy of Chiang who was in Kansas at the time, be asked to come and present his views, but Conference leaders did not invite him.

The debate continued throughout the next day; then Conference leaders took hold and directed all sessions throughout the remainder of the Conference, both formal and informal, along lines "relevant to the Conference's purpose."

Journey Members Honored for Work

The members of the Journey of Reconciliation, sponsored by the FOR, received one of the ten citations for the National Honor Roll of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, for implementing the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation on the interstate buses of the South.

George Houser and Bayard Rustin, FOR Racial-Industrial Secretaries, also were jointly nominated by the Council Against Intolerance in America for a Thomas Jefferson Prize for the Advancement of Democracy During 1947. They were cited for their challenging of Jim Crow on the Journey of Reconciliation, and were listed as one of three groups under the heading of public service. Ford Frick, Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson won the award under this heading.

CO Paper Folds

The newspaper *World*, founded by COs a year and a half ago, has reluctantly announced its inability to reestablish the paper, suspended since last summer. Subscribers will receive, instead, copies of *American Perspective*, published by the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, a non-profit research organization, to fill out their subscriptions.

The editors still hope that some day it may be possible to resume publication of *World*.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Northwest: Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; Far West: Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; Southwest: Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Chinese Ammunition Shipment Shanghaied?

The State Department, says the *New York Post*, is investigating reports from "responsible authorities" that half of a huge shipment of ammunition sold to the Chinese Nationalist government by this country had been sold right off the dock to the Chinese Communists. The shipment, worth over \$6.5 million but sold to the Nationalists for about 10 percent of that, was for rifles manufactured in China, and was delivered to Shanghai. The report states that after it was unloaded there, half of it was sold, and was smuggled to the Chinese Communist armies in the north. The Chinese Embassy in Washington denied the report.

Senora Brocca Safe in Mexico

FOR members and friends who so generously responded to the appeal for help to bring Senora José Brocca to Mexico from Spain, to be reunited with her husband after a long separation, will be happy to know that the money was raised, and Senora Brocca arrived in Mexico City in December. Sr. and Sra. Brocca send their greetings, and word that they are very happy together and grateful for the assistance.

Send Vegetable Seeds!

Packages containing 25 varieties of vegetable seeds may be sent to individuals in any of 23 European countries for \$3.95 postpaid, under a plan recently announced. The package, whose retail value is \$5.50, can produce up to five tons of vegetables, and can be purchased in certain local stores around the country.

Stumpp and Walter, 132 Church Street, New York City 7, is one of the outlets.

In addition, contributions of fifty cents or more to go for the purchase of seeds may be sent to the National Council of State Garden Clubs, Room 2108, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City 18. Seeds purchased in this way will be distributed by the Church World Service.

Democratic Party Not Private Club

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Virginia, on December 29 upheld the right of Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries in South Carolina. The legislature of South Carolina had repealed its primary laws, so that the Democratic Party there could make itself technically a private club, with the privilege of denying voting rights to anyone it chose.

The action of the South Carolina legislature was followed by several other Southern states, in an attempt to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision last year that white primaries were illegal.

Propaganda

The Senate Civil Service Committee has asked the Post Office Department whether *The Pioneer*, weekly magazine published at the Fort Knox UMT "experimental unit," should not be denied its present free mailing privilege, on the grounds that it is propaganda. The Committee's chairman asked Army officers "whether, when a bill is pending before Congress, the Army can send out unlimited propaganda bearing on the proposed legislation."

Jottings

The NAM, looking with a jaundiced eye at the record of 1947's corporate profits, the highest in this country's history, declared that they are inadequate to the requirements of current business expansion.

* * *

The British Labor Party in January lost its first House of Commons seat since the general victory of 1945. In the by-election at Camlachie, Scotland, Conservative Charles McFarlane defeated Laborite John Inglis and four other candidates.

* * *

Ed Knapp, President of the Washington, D. C. Pacifist Fellowship, left on January 27 to take a position with the civilian administration of the American Military Government in Tokyo.

* * *

The picket line protesting jimcrow in Washington's YMCA coffee shop was undaunted by the driving rain and the cold of New Year's Day. Asked how they managed, they reported cheerfully, "We varnished the signs."

* * *

Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall told Congress the Army was not "propagandizing" the public for UMT. He said they were just using "every legitimate medium" to explain the program to the country. A few days later Mr. Royall testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that he saw no "imminent" danger of a military attack on the Western European nations cooperating in ERP, but warned of possible "political aggression."

The Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis has asked its three hundred member churches to put an end to racial segregation in religious services, institutions and activities.

* * *

James Myers, longtime FOR member and Industrial Relations Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, has joined the staff of the National Child Labor Committee.

* * *

Four hundred members of the UN staff met in December to organize a bookstore and a food store cooperative for themselves.

* * *

In January President Truman appointed another general—Maj. Gen. L. S. Kuter—for a civilian post. General Kuter was nominated to head the Civil Aeronautics Board, when liberal James M. Landis was forced out. However, Congress failed to pass the necessary law making it possible for the General to retain his military status while in the civilian position, and Truman is looking for another candidate now.

* * *

Four out of the thirty-five COs from the Washington area received pardons.

* * *

President Manuel Roxas of the Philippines has granted amnesty to political and economic collaborators with Japan.

* * *

Dick and Marian Stow, FOR members, have asked friends to send gifts overseas in lieu of presents to their new baby Penny.



Books

Tug of War

Barabbas: "A Novel of the Time of Jesus" by Emery Bekessy, translated from the German by Richard and Clare Winston. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1946. 324 pp. \$2.75.

The tug of the way of violence against the way of reconciliation is personified in this imaginative account of encounters that might have taken place between Barabbas, red-handed revolutionary, and his contemporary, Jesus of Nazareth. At the same time that Jesus was carrying his message through Palestine, Barabbas was organizing a scheme to thrust away, by force, the Roman heel that crunched across the country.

The courses of the two men cross often, in this novel, and in situations that form a parable of the difference between revolution and reconciliation. The men meet in their contacts with an escaped convict, Ezra; with oily priests; with Lazarus; with Pilate; and with Joseph of Arimathea, who emerges as one of the few fully-formed characters in the book—gentle, cultivated, and courageous. The two men's paths even bisect in a hypothetical scene with the woman at the well. Then the two careers cross, climactically, in Pilate's choice between them. One dies. One, unsoftened, still convinced that only violence can win what he

wants, strides away to freedom, and to oblivion.

The vibration that thrums between the two men, and the methods they represent, is most effectively caught in the character of Ezra, the escaped prisoner. Wild, taut, tough, the incarnation of action, he is Barabbas' sturdiest recruit. In his many meetings with the quiet Galilean, Ezra stumbles from scorn to fury to bewilderment to questioning, to commitment. He gains, with his final choice of Jesus' way, only death and, for the first time in his tense life, tranquillity.

As prose, this novel is difficult to judge, for it is a translation from an edition in German. Its sluggish syrup of words may partly be the loss many books take in translation. Against its clumsiness, and its possible historical flimsiness, one must add some streaks of sure power. Among these are an unsparing description of a gladiatorial contest, a probe into Pilate's mind, and a scene where Barabbas' men, about to repay Lazarus' hospitality to them by burning his estate, are dramatically deflected by Jesus. Certainly one must acknowledge the author's effort to express a conviction about the ultimate invincibility of the way of reconciliation that he seems to feel intensely, and wants very much to spread.

ELISABETH D. DODDS

Fellowship

Psychology for the Young

My Dear Ego, by Fritz Kunkel. Pilgrim Press, 1947. 147 pages. \$2.50.

If you are an adult and don't know Kunkel, this will be an excellent summary of his thinking on what constitutes maturity. If you are a young person in high school or college, this is really your book. It was written for you by a man with a very fine mind and a warmhearted charm that will encourage you in your desire for a worthwhile and creative life.

Kunkel begins by discussing "our striving for happiness" that "so often leads to misery" and in forty pages shows clearly why this happens. "If we give a dime for a good cause merely for the credit of giving, we are just as egocentric as the fellow who spends his dime for candy." Serving this ego leads us to the "dog-house mystery." The way out is described by a charming story of "eight boys on a hike."

There follows an outline of a ten-year training course in "high voltage" between boys and girls indicating where short circuits may arise. This section culminates in the Great Oath, "I pledge to protect innocence, purity and honesty against all enemies and rascals, and especially against myself."

The final section in the book relates the person to the group and to God, "the Great Magnet," drawing us toward the infinite. Here is a wise discussion between an old man and a young couple sitting around a fireplace.

If there are any parents who think we need a State to discipline our youth via UMT, this might be a refresher course for them.

—EMERSON S. SCHWENK

March 1948

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Contemplative Reading

A Quiet Friend: Notes on Ethics, by Hans Margolius. Published by the author. 30 pp. \$1.00.

The depth and gentleness of these comments on life, so brief and quiet in tone, will penetrate, I think, the reader's spirit, enlarging and tranquilizing it. Some of the reflections are introduced by quotations from such thinkers as Einstein, Albert Schweitzer, Lin Yutang, Joubert, Felix Adler. Yet I find my own favorites, with few exceptions, are those by the author. He says a number of unobtrusively novel things.

"In every love is something of the love of parents for their children. Almost all expressions of fondness are diminutives."

"The realm of the Good is a realm of wonders. The stories of the Good are the fairy tales of life."

I find this tiny treasury of thirty pages most candid and sincere. It might well be given to a bride, or a graduate from college. These reflections were distilled out of study, thought and vicissitudes—out of daily living most of all—by a young scholar and philosopher who came to this country in 1939; and the quotations among them were chosen from wide philosophical reading. Together they provide a demonstration of the profound gentleness in human nature, which war, exploitation, rivalry, noise and haste offend without really dislodging.

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Copies of *A Quiet Friend* may be obtained from Dr. Hans Margolius, 624 Southwest 14th Avenue, Miami 35, Florida. To anyone wishing to own the book, but finding the price too high, a copy will gladly be sent without charge.

SARAH CLEGHORN

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Why the polls favor UMT

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